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As it hath been frequently suggested, the Measures of the present Administration were indefensible in themselves, and that those who sought to defend them, were glad to quit the principal Points in debate in order to introduce new Subjects, I should open this Paper by

that *Caleb D'Anvers* is certainly a *Nom de Guerre*, and that sometimes it stands for one Body, sometimes for another. But I leave such wise distinctions as these to those who need them, and I go so far from calling the *Craftsman* Names, that I readily admit the Paper of the 9th Instant, to be written with much Art, and with great Appearance of Argument, and then I shall proceed to shew, that Mr. D'Anvers's Skill hath enabled him only to make the Cause, and to give an Air of Obscurity to things, which, viewed in a true Light, are only against him.

The first thing this sage Author is out of Humour with, my saying in the Paper of the 25th of August, 'That our Constitution hath lately suffered great Change, tho' by secret and almost invisible Means.' This however he admits to be true in itself, but false in another, viz. in that in which it is, and for which he quotes my Words.

Our Government, from being a Monarchy, is now into the very Dregs of Democracy; and that supreme Power being wrested from the King and Ministers, is placed in certain popular Demagogues. Having thus stated the Matter, he first attempts to prove, that whatever Alteration there is in our Constitution is in favour of Monarchy; and he shews at large, that the Power of making Peace, is where it hath always been, in the King; tho' since the Restoration, he suggests it to have been in the People. This effected, he asks, But over whom? — Not over *Freemen*;

he never said any such things as the *Craftsman* made him say. In Proof of which, I beg Leave to refer to the first Paragraph, but the first Sentence of that *Gazetteer*, which runs thus; 'When I read the Discourses I every Day hear, and the which I every Day read, I cannot help thinking that our Constitution hath suffered a great Change, though by secret and almost invisible Means; and that our Government from being a Monarchy, is sunk into the very Dregs of Democracy.'

Let every impartial Reader see, that all I intended to intimate was, that the Discourses and Writings of the Malecontents, were so inconsistent with our Constitution, as to incline a Man to believe that it had suffered some Alteration, before they could think it prudent, or even safe to publish it. And if the Truth of this was denied, would I not in his Wits, expect that I should be called upon to produce any other Proofs than Writings have a Tendency? To what Purpose then all the Reasoning in the *Craftsman*? Why, to shew that such a Change, as I mentioned, is not effected. Very well! I confess this, and I thank him for it: But when Mr. D'Anvers grants me that our popular Demagogues have a great Interest in the Doors, he fully justifies all I have said in the Paper before cited, which plainly refers to Papers and Discourses without Doors, and no where else.

Mr. D'Anvers next complains of my using these Words; *Making War with all the World*, and demands an Explanation. For this I must refer to his own Writings, and those of his Countrymen, where I am confident he will find that it is a Catholic Majesty only who hath been meddled with, but other crown'd Heads also: Whether with an Intent so far to provoke them, or to unite them all in the unjust Cause of the Spaniards, him and his Friends answer if they think there is nothing amazes me so much as the Assurance of this Writer, in charging the Ministry with making the Nation contemptible; when the Man who has heard his Patron's Speeches, or read his own Journals, must know that this has been the sole Design of both, and the People have been told, from time to time, that it would not

be long before they saw the Effects of such Representations in the Conduct of foreign Princes. Yet, excepting the Affair of a certain Memorial, they have been hitherto always unsuccessful, and have met with the Contempt Abroad which they ought to have experienced at Home. Thus much for his introductory Accusations.

Mr. D'Anvers himself admits, that I have stated the Questions, on which our present Disputes turn, very fairly. I am sure it was my Intention to answer those Questions as fairly. The First Question was, *Why we have borne with the Spaniards so long?* And the Substance of my Answer was; That if the Proceedings before both Houses of Parliament last Session, were in themselves prudent and proper, then we had not forborn too long; because we had only forborn till prudent and proper Measures had been taken to justify our having recourse to Arms. To this I beg Leave to add, that no Answer can be given, which does not alledge the Verifying of Facts before the Parliament to be improper; and this the *Craftsman* can never do; because he lays Claim to this Step in the loudest Terms, and arrogates it entirely to himself and his Friends. This seems fully to justify me; but I have still something presented by Monsieur *Palm*, and scatter'd afterwards about the Streets, farther to say, which I think will put the Matter quite out of Dispute. Mr. D'Anvers, in this very Paper, charges it as a Crime upon the present Ministry, that they have laid none of the Treaties they have made before the Parliament, except the Treaty of *Seville*. If this was wrong, then surely the not making War, before the Grounds of the War were made known to, and thoroughly canvassed in Parliament, must be right, if it is possible for the Ministry once to be in the right?

But such is the Misfortune of this Gentleman, that he is frequently under a Necessity of misrepresenting things; because there are certain Persons whom he is determined to injure in all Events. In the foregoing Part of his Paper, he takes a great deal of Pains to shew, that since the Condition of the Kingdom of *Great Britain* is greatly changed, and the Charge of War is now borne by their People, and not by them, the People have acquired a Right, which they had not before, of being consulted upon this Head. Yet, when it is alledged, that the Ministry did not rush into a hasty War, but staid till the Representatives of the People in Parliament were consulted, this is said to be no conclusive Answer. I wish that this Gentleman would tell us what would be a conclusive Answer, for I protest solemnly I cannot, tell if this be not.

BESIDES, if the laying the Treaty of *Seville* before the Parliament in a regular manner for their Approbation was a proper Step, as the *Craftsman* admits, by his excepting it from all the other Steps of the Ministry, which he censures as improper, then certainly the Parliament had a Right to be perfectly acquainted with all the Steps taken in pursuance of a Treaty which they had approved; consequently they had a Right (I reckon now on the *Craftsman's* Principles) to have it proved to them, that this Treaty had been eluded; that Commissioners sent to *Spain* had obtained no Restitution; that our Trade, notwithstanding the ample Provisions in that Treaty, was still insecure; and that notwithstanding the Representations and Memorials of our Minister, the Spaniards continued to plunder and insult our Countrymen. If therefore the Ministry had not recourse to Arms, till such Satisfaction was given to the Parliament, they certainly acted wisely and warily, according to Mr. D'Anvers's Maxims: And this, as I said before, is the thing that makes him and his Friends so angry; had the Ministry acted otherwise, there would have been no need of Railing, the Malecontents would have found something else to do.

THIS Gentleman, according to his accustomed Method of throwing Dirt by the Pailful, that some of it may stick, asserts a great many Facts which I am persuaded never had Being but in his own Brain, particularly in relation to the *Merchant's Petitions*, and the Epithets, *Pirates* and *Sea Robbers*, which I do hereby challenge him to point out in any of my Papers. If Accusing and Convicting were the same Thing, it is morally certain, that none in the Administration!

None who have shewn any Respect to the Administration, would have escaped! But as we live in a Country where Evidence is, or ought to be expected in support of every Charge, it is to be hoped, that the Publick will act as justly as a petty Jury, and not suffer any Man to be worded out of his Reputation, and declaimed out of his Innocence, merely to gratify a Party who know they cannot appear guiltless themselves, till they have shewn him to be guilty.

As to the second Question I stated, *Why we do not now take Vengeance of the Spaniards?* The Answer I suggested was, because we are likely to obtain Satisfaction, by means of the Armament we have already made. Mr. D'Anvers says, this is not conclusive: And why? Because the *Bastimentos* and *Spithead* Squadrons did not fight. But they answered the Ends for which they were fitted out, and so may this. It is the Event only which must shew, whether Mr. D'Anvers or I are in the Right. This Gentleman admitted in his Journal of the 19th Instant, That the honourable Person at the Head of the Administration, had made himself accountable for obtaining for us full and ample Satisfaction, either by fair and peaceable Means, or by exerting all our Strength, in case a War became necessary; and if this be fulfilled, what can Mr. D'Anvers demand more? He says, indeed, that by the late War, *Spain* acquired the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but if they were acquired by the War, she gave an Equivalent for them by the Peace. *France*, he says, secured to herself the Duchies of *Lorain* and *Bar*, and the King of *Sardinia* got something, and therefore *England* should do, what? Why, get something too. Something, doubtless, she will get, viz. Satisfaction for her Losses, and Security for her Trade. As for any thing else, she needs it not. She has already Territory enough, and might always be the Arbitrer of *Europe*, if her Inhabitants were always united; which it were to be wished the *Craftsmen* would consider; the rather, because they are so desirous of being thought *Patriots*.

I come now to an Article, with which I have hardly any Patience. The *Craftsman* has the Modesty to say, that my Sneers upon the Country Gentlemen, Merchants, and poor Sailors, are too gross and insolent to impose upon any of them. Good God! was there ever such an Excuse made for not quoting what would have proved the Falseness of this Accusation? I think I may safely say, that never any publick Writer delt less in Sneering than myself. I have always looked upon it as a thing unmannerly and indecent in Discourses of so serious a Nature, as those which regard the Peace and Safety of these Kingdoms. Mr. D'Anvers, in his Paper of the 19th of *August*, had put manifest Absurdities to the Mouths of *Country Gentlemen*, *Merchants* and *Sailors*. I exposed these Absurdities, and concluded from their being Absurdities, that they came out of *Caleb's* Mint, and not from those from whom he pretended to receive them. Could this be called Sneering? Or can it be the Interest of a Man who labours to disabuse the People, to sneer at them in his Writings? I might, with Justice, sneer on Mr. D'Anvers; I might inquire whether the Paper I am answering, did not come from *Twickenham*; I might suggest that its Method and Coherency proves it to be none of Mr. *Dapper's*. In short, I might say a hundred random Things as he does, to make some People stare and others laugh: But I have declined doing this, that I might answer his Reasoning, and I hope he will treat me thus for the future; which I am sure will be more for his Honour, and his Reader's Satisfaction, than his former Conduct hath been. The present Situation of Things is too critical to admit of jesting, and therefore the Publick will excuse me for being a little Warm on so injurious an Insinuation.

THE last Article of our Author's String of Complaints is remarkably Whimsical. He is surpris'd that the Minister, or his Friends, should express any Dislike at the Malecontents, who have helped him on so many Occasions. Then he particularizes, by way of Sneer, their concurring in the Supplies given last Session, and their offering more than he thought fit to accept. Strange indeed! Then it seems, this all-powerful, all-grasping Minister, as they formerly called him, is become a refusing Minister, and there is something amiss in that too. One ought never to wonder,





